



## Department of State

## TELEGRAM

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20  
USIA-15 ACDA-19 OMB-01 DRC-01 AID-20 /145 W  
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R 281519Z NOV 73  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 704  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT  
USINT CAIRO  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
USMISSION USUN NY

UNCLAS TEL AVIV 9610

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS : PFOR, IS  
SUBJECT : EBAN CALLS FOR ISRAELI POLICY REASSESSMENT

ANDERSON \_\_\_\_\_  
RATLIFF \_\_\_\_\_  
HORMATS \_\_\_\_\_  
HOLDRIDGE \_\_\_\_\_  
V. I. G. \_\_\_\_\_  
NEGROPONTE \_\_\_\_\_  
~~KENNEDY~~ \_\_\_\_\_  
LEHMAN \_\_\_\_\_  
ODEEN \_\_\_\_\_  
SONNENFELT \_\_\_\_\_  
~~STANDERS~~ \_\_\_\_\_  
RONDON \_\_\_\_\_  
JORDEN \_\_\_\_\_  
WALSH \_\_\_\_\_

1. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY SUMMARY OF OFFICIAL TEXT OF FONMIN EBAN'S SPEECH NOVEMBER 27 TO CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS. (FULL TEXT HAS BEEN POUCHED NOVEMBER 28).

2. EBAN AID THAT ISRAEL MUST UNDERTAKE FAR-REACHING CONCEPTUAL REASSESSMENT, PARADOX IS THAT AGONIZED NATIONAL DEBATE GOES FORWARD WITHIN OBJECTIVE REALITY OF TRIUMPH. ISRAEL HAS NOT BEEN DEFEATED OR CONQUERED, NON-COMBATANT POPULATION WAS SPARED WORST OF WAR, AND ARAB ATTACKS DID NOT ACHIEVE THEIR MILITARY AIMS.

3. YET THIS IS A VICTORY WITHOUT CELEBRATION. PERILS OF FIRST WEEK OF WAR ARE JUST AS MUCH A POLITICAL REALITY AS TRIUMPH OF SUBSEQUENT DAYS. THIS HAS MODIFIED STANDARDS BY WHICH WORLD APPRAISES ISRAELIS AND ARABS, AND BY WHICH WE APPRAISE EACH OTHER. QUOTE. IT APPEARS THAT THE UNIQUELY CRUSHING

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EXTENT OF OUR 1967 TRIUMPH--A HUNDRED PERCENT ISRAELI VICTORY AND A HUNDRED PERCENT ARAB DEFEAT--WAS NOT AN AUTHENTIC OR PERMANENT REFLECTION OF THE REAL MILITARY BALANCE. END QUOTE

4. EBAN SAID THAT ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY DOCTRINE SINCE 1967 WAS CLEAR. ISRAEL HAD SUFFICIENT PREPONDERANCE TO DETER ANY LIKELY ASSAULT, OR IF AN ASSAULT TOOK PLACE, TO DEFEAT IT WITH SUCH SPEED AND LITTLE COST AS TO STRENGTHEN ITS POWER OF DETERRENCE. QUOTE. SO LONG AS THIS APPRAISAL OF MILITARY BALANCE WAS VALID, ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF ISRAEL'S OFFICIAL POLICY WERE AT LEAST INTELLECTUALLY COHERENT WHETHER ANYONE ACCEPTED THEM OR NOT . . . . ONCE THE FIRST LINK IN SEQUENCE OF ASSUMPTIONS FAILS TO STAND FIRM, NOTHING ELSE IS SOLID, AND WHOLE CHAIN COMES UNDER NEED OF REVIEW. END QUOTE

5. QUOTE. . . THE TRUTH IS THAT EVEN OUR PRE-WAR POLICIES WERE SOMETIMES UNDERMINED BY BEING TAKEN OUT OF THEIR OWN BALANCE AND PROPORTION. A DOCTRINE BASED ON ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE CAUSED NATIONAL STYLE AND RHETORIC TO BECOME OVERLY STRIDENT. DOMESTIC RIVALRIES LED TO PROLIFERATION OF MAXIMALIST STATEMENTS. ISRAEL'S RIGHT AND CLAIMS, LEGITIMATE IN THEMSELVES, WERE OFTEN PROCLAIMED IN A VACUUM, . . . . END QUOTE.

6. EBAN SAID THAT OCTOBER EXPERIENCE REINFORCES PRINCIPLE THAT BORDERS MUST ENABLE ISRAEL TO WITHSTAND FIRST MOMENTUM OF AN ASSAULT. QUOTE. . . BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT WAS RIGHT FOR MANY ISRAELIS TO PRESENT POSITION OF BOUNDARIES AS SOLE CONDITION OF SECURITY, RATHER THAN AS ONE OF ITS CONDITIONS. AN INTEGRAL SECURITY DOCTRINE WOULD INCLUDE, ALONG WITH TERRITORIAL COMPONENT SUCH ELEMENTS AS BALANCE OF FORCES, VIGILANCE AND SPIRIT OF DEFENDERS, PRECISION IN ORGANIZATION, TECHNICAL PRODUCTIVITY OF ECONOMY, MORAL QUALITY OF PUBLIC SECTOR AS A WHOLE, ABILITY TO DRAW STRENGTH FROM EXTERNAL CONNECTIONS. IT WAS NOT EVERYWHERE REALIZED THAT WITHOUT THESE OUR SECURITY WOULD BE UNDERMINED, NO MATTER WHAT BOUNDARIES WE HAD. . . . END QUOTE.

7. SOME NON-ISRAELIS MIGHT WRONGLY HAVE ATTRIBUTED TO US FALLACIOUS BELIEF THAT LIST OF PLACES WE WOULD NEVER ABANDON CONSTITUTED TOTAL AND ADEQUATE STATEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL POLICY.

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8. QUOTE...IT WAS NOT ALWAYS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THAT POLICY SHOULD BE DIRECTED NOT ONLY TO MAKING ENEMY UNABLE TO FIGHT US AGAIN, BUT ALSO TO HOPE OF MAKING HIM UNWILLING TO FIGHT US AGAIN. LOGIC OF WAR IS POWER, AND POWER HAS NO INHERENT LIMIT. LOGIC OF PEACE OF PROPORTION, AND PROPORTION IMPLIES LIMITATION. DETERRENCE AND PERSUASION ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE. BUT THEIR COMBINATION IMPLIES A CERTAIN RESTRAINT. END QUOTE

9. ON FRINGES OF POLITICAL SPECTRUM SOME ILLUSIONS WERE SPROUTING, NOT AT ALL INHERENT IN OUR OFFICIAL POLICY. THEY DID NOT ALWAYS REMAIN ON FRINGES. QUOTE...I MEAN THE ILLUSION THAT CEASEFIRE COULD EXIST INDEFINITELY IN A DIPLOMATIC VACUUM, WITH NO CONSTANCY OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY. I MEAN THE ILLUSION THAT A MILLION ARABS WOULD BE KEPT UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL FOREVER PROVIDED THAT THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELFARE WAS IMPRESSIVELY ADVANCED. THE ILLUSION THAT ZIONISM FORBADE A SHARING OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY BETWEEN TWO NATIONS IN FORMER PALESTINE MANDATE AREA. THE ILLUSION THAT ISRAEL'S HISTORIC LEGACY WAS EXCLUSIVELY A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY AND NOT ALSO, AND PRINCIPALLY, A HERITAGE OF PROPHETIC VALUES OF WHICH CERTAL VALUE WAS PEACE. THE FALLACY THAT TO SEE ANYTHING TEMPORARY IN SOME OF ISRAEL'S POSITIONS WEST OF THE JORDAN WAS TANTAMOUNT TO ALIENATION FROM THE BIBLICAL CULTURE. THE FALLACY THAT A NATION COULD NOT BE STRONG UNLESS IT DEMONSTRATED ITS TOUGHNESS IN EVERY CONTINGENCY. END QUOTE

10. THE TASK BEFORE US IS TO REBUILD OUR CONCEPTS. THERE IS A NEW AIR TO BREATHE. QUOTE...WE SHOULD NOT ABANDON THE IDEA OF STRATEGIC DEPTH TO PROTECT OUR POPULATED CENTERS. BUT THERE IS VERSATILE RANGE OF METHOD BY WHICH THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED--SOMETIMES BUT NOT ALWAYS BY TERRITORIAL CHANGE. PROBLEM CAN BE AGGRAVATED IF WE THINK OF ERECTING VAST POPULATION CENTERS DEEP IN SINAI--AND THEN LOOK FOR ADDITIONAL STRATEGIC DEPTH TO DEFEND THEM -- AND SO ON TO INFINITY -- OR ABSURDITY. END QUOTE

11. EBAN CONCLUDED THAT PEACE CONFERENCE DOES NOT MAKE PEACE INEVITABLE; HOWEVER, IT MAKES IT LESS IMPROBABLE. PEACE CONFERENCE MUST BE APPROACHED AS OPPORTUNITY AND NOT ONLY AS DANGER. QUOTE...WE SHOULD CONSTRUCT A



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MODEL OF MIDDLE EAST WITHOUT ENEMIES, COMMUNITY OF  
SOVEREIGN STATES UNITED IN REGIONAL DEVOTION. PROSPECT MAY BE  
FAR, BUT ARCHITECT MAKES PICTURE OF FINISHED STRUCTURE BEFORE  
HE BEGINS ARDUOUSLY TO BUILD. END QUOTE.  
KEATING

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